often more. For the mutilation of a woman, half as much wergeld is paid as for the same mutilation suffered by a man.

In contradiction to the report of I. I. Ibragimov in "Zamtki o Kirgizskom Sude" /Notes on Kazakh Justice/, St. Petersburg, 1878), concerning the judgment of affairs of widows of prominent Kazakhs, Torgai holds that the widows of such persons are not turned to for judgment, and that even if they asked the woman, she could not decide the affair. She can only assist in the pacification between husband and wife, saying to each: Stop, do not scold, this is shameful (koy, yaman syuileme, aib bulady). (2) According to the report

2. According to Makovetskii, I, p. 31, a village is sometimes ruled by a widow temporarily, until her sons reach majority. On the matriarchy as the oldest structure preceding the patriarchy, cf. Pervobytnoe Pravo /Primitive Law/ by Maksim Kovalevskii, Pt. I, Chapter III: The maternal clan.

of bii Sultan Kanaev, although a woman cannot be a bii, in some villages one can find women who do judge the affairs of women (khatyndy biyley tugun).

/96/ Women do not take an active part in war. If they have enough spirit (gayrati kelse), they defend their village against attacks (Abdrakhman). In one folk epic the wife, named Khanekey, accompanies her husband Zarlyk on an expedition to free the husband's sister.

The woman nurses the wounded relatives. The care of those who are not relatives is left to her good nature.

E. A. Aleksandrov reports that custom in general forbids women to slaughter animals, but in extremity when the men and grown boys are absent from the village a woman can slaughter a sheep for food, carrying out all the necessary religious ceremonials.

Children out of wedlock can fail to be adopted. Then they go to to seek their father.

The children of a girl who is not betrothed to their father also go to seek their father. A bridegroom does not consent to take a bride with strange children. He is more apt to make a raid (barymta) to kill the father of these children (Perovsk uyezd).

The people do not permit unlawful cohabitation, but it does exist, and in such cases the men call the women living with them servants, as though they were working for wages. The women in

[310 cont.]

342 in and protect the interior of the tent from dust and the heat of the sun. The tents of ordinary people are of gray felt, and those of the great or the rich of white felt. But some sultans, the most powerful ones in the Middle and the Great Hordes, have theirs covered with red cloth and lined inside with fabrics of silk. The [565] poorest people, on the contrary, substitute mats of tree bark and leaves for the pieces of felt, and sometimes they even use reeds and grass.

352 The far side of the tent, opposite the door, is occupied by [291] chests covered with rugs. These serve for the storage of dresses, [411] robes, and other clothing. Rifles, sabers, bows, arrows, saddles, 415 harnesses, powderhorns, etc. are hung inside the tent, as well as towels, teapots, jugs, tursuks (kinds of sacks of hide), and frequently pieces of smoked horsemeat as well. The ground, which serves as the floor, is covered with rugs or pieces of felt. On these rugs great vases are arranged, kettles, wooden headboards [chevets] on which pillows are placed, and boxes of a special kind which are ornamented in different ways and in which sacks are placed which contain kumiss.

[497 A Kazak assembles and dismantles his tent in half an hour 231] and constantly carries it on the back of a camel to the places where he finds good pasturage and water for his herds. Thus he is more dependent upon his herds and studs than on anything else.

[233 [311] Later we will give a detailed description of their herds. 182] But it should be stated here that this kind of occupation determines all their social obligations and relations, so that no matter how one imagines a Kazak one can only see an armed shepherd in him. And the habit and taste for the pastoral life is the source of all his actions, both moral and physical.

233 The continual travels of the Kazaks and the change of loca- 152 tion does not tire them. On the contrary, they find in it a source 181 of pleasure and consider themselves lucky not to be attached to the soil. During the summer the nomadic life is really very pleasant, 221 but it is unbearable during the winter. During this season the 132 Kazak, surrounded on all sides by piles of snow, rarely emerge from their tents. There, huddled around the fire (1), they suffer almost

1. In places where there is no wood, they use animal dung for fuel.

[311 cont.]

221 equally from heat and cold.

132 The violence of the wind brings enormous flakes of snow
132 into the tent through the door and the opening at the top, and
857 sometimes a storm blows over the felt edifice with all its occupants. The children, half-naked, come out from under the felts or the sheepskins in which they are usually enveloped, throw themselves on the hot cinders, burn their hands and feet, and utter cries which pierce the heart.

361 In order to protect themselves from the misfortunes and unpleasantness which winter causes them, the Kazaks choose for their winter camp the middle of some grove, reeds, hills, or the sands in the southern part of the steppes.

221 We have said earlier that their camps, winter as well as summer, cannot be exactly determined and are not always occupied by the same inhabitants. Nevertheless, they are quite constant in the choice of the former, because not all localities present the [312] necessary conditions for a winter camp to the [132] same degree and because the depth of the snow does not allow them to move.

[222
231] Some Kazaks, especially those who are nearest to the
351 Russian border, collect supplies of fodder in the autumn, dig pits in the ground to put their livestock in, and build fences of wattling, when the place permits it, to protect themselves from the wind, especially the north wind.

[517
273] The suffering they are caused by the frosts and storms makes
262] them celebrate the return of spring with rapture. They spend most of the summer days sleeping and drinking kumiss, and they eat very
[538 little meat. At night they gather to enjoy the pleasures of the
533 table together, and to tell each other stories, or to listen to
534] musicians who play the chibyzga or the balalaika.

[484] But the autumn is the best time of the year for them. It is in this season that they undertake their longest trips (1), and they

[784] 1- We will note in passing that superstition prevents the Kazaks from undertaking long trips when the moon is on the wane.

5: Levchine--185 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 5.

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Kirghiz-Kazak Man

5: Levchine--186 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 6.

231
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291
301

Kirghiz-Kazak Woman

8: Levchine--187 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 7.

231
142
291
301

Kirghiz-Kazak Girl

/208 cont./

342 361 Permanent dwellings are not as necessary as the yurt for the Kirghiz /Kazak/. Only climatic conditions force him to change from yurt life to a winter camp. The life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in the winter quarters is not even life, but more a kind of vegetation since it is usually linked with great constraint, discomfort, shortages, and unpleasantness. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ himself regards his life in the winter quarters as a temporary and sadly necessary interval in his life.

On the other hand, these dwellings deserve attention as one of the links establishing the transition of the nomad to sedentary life. The winter quarters are the kernel of modern Kirghiz /Kazak/ land ownership and land use.

In these "kstau," the winter dwellings of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, one can see the most varied structures, depending on the climatic, natural, and historical conditions of the region, and also on the 184 economic status of the owner. In the mountains of the southern 342 Altai and Tarbagatai, the winter camps of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ are constructed of stone and wood and are located in the valleys and hollows of the mountains. In the southern steppe strip (without forest), the winter quarters are built of turf, and in the northern wooded strip they are more often of wood and less frequently of turf.

We shall describe the winter camps of the last two types, as they are the most widespread.

361 231 Just as sedentary peoples choose for their settlements places that offer the greatest comforts and conveniences for their life, so the Kirghiz /Kazak/ winter quarters are situated primarily in places favorable for the maintenance of livestock, the main source of the people's life. With this in view the winter quarters are located at the foot of mountains, on the banks of rivers and lakes, or on the edges of forests, i.e., in places where the livestock can obtain fodder most easily in winter. Such places are therefore not grazed in summer, so that the grass can be [342] saved for the winter. In the kstau one is struck first of all by the close connection of the human dwelling with the livestock quarters, and the absence of a regular arrangement of buildings. 342 The walls of the living quarters are made of layers of sod up one

/208 cont./

342 arshin and more in thickness. Above these walls there is a row of wooden beams, on which several crossbeams are fastened to support the ceiling. The latter is made of /209/ brushwood, reeds, and grass, and layers of sod are put on it. The kstau have no roofs. A small door is made in the wall facing the yard. On the opposite side one or two insignificant windows are fashioned -- or more precisely holes with only glass or a bladder stretched [354] over them (1). The building is divided into two halves; the

1. In summer the window frames with the glass or the bladders are usually taken out and stored somewhere to avoid loss or breakage.

front one is the dirtier one in which the stove is placed (usually an unbaked brick one, consisting of two enclosures, in one of which the kettle /kazan/ is set, while the other is used for baking baursaki, melting tallow, etc.). The young rams and calves, 342 the harness of the horses, and piles of other farm equipment are 353 also kept in this half. The back half (two to three sagenes long), 352 two sagenes wide, and 1 sagene high) is almost filled with bunks [231] on which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ eat and sleep. Stakes are driven into the walls, and clothing, the best harness, felt, etc. are 342 hung on them. At night the mud hut is lighted by a tallow candle [354] /sal'nik/ (a wick with sheep tallow in a cup). From all that has been said of the winter quarters, /illustration appears here/ one can imagine the kind of crowdedness, dirt, and suffocating heat [184] the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to endure in winter. In general the [556] winter quarters of the richer Kirghiz /Kazak/ in localities without forests differ little from the one described, except that they are cleaner.

343 Close to his own quarters the Kirghiz /Kazak/ builds stalls for the sheep, which have the same structure as the dwelling, except that they lack windows and an oven. In addition two other sod structures are built, one on the order of a storehouse, 000 and the other for the dzhetak laborers. Then there are lighter

351 /209 cont./ Then there are lighter structures, which constitute the actual yard of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ house. The yard is enclosed by a bulwark of earth, dung, reeds, etc. Poles, whose one end is propped against it, are fastened at the other end either to special supports or also to the bulwark. On top of these poles a reed roof is arranged over the entire yard. A roof is necessary in the winter quarters on the steppe because of the frequent winds and snowstorms. Inside, the yard is broken up into sev- [231] eral parts, of which /210/ the warmest are given to the small animals and cattle and those less warm to the horses.

361 The general impression made by the steppe winter-quarters is

[342] [346]

Steppe winter-quarters and mosque of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clan of the Tuz on the Emba River.

negative. In appearance it is a cluster of closely joined mud huts [132] surrounded by dung. In view of the frequent snowstorms, however, the proximity of the buildings is very convenient for the steppe population.

184 342 35 The winter camps of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in forested localities have more comforts. The living quarters consist of a small hut with a small window and door, a floor, and a ceiling, although it, too, often lacks a roof. Most of the living space is taken up with bunks, covered with felt, mats, rugs, and cushions. Under the bunks, chests and other practical articles are placed. The oven, too, is of a more 184 modern type, more beautiful than convenient. The average middle- 343 class Kirghiz /Kazak/ has separate quarters in the courtyard, called

/210 cont./
184 "chuchela," for the cooking of meat and for the laborers. This is a
343 cupola-shaped, half-sod and half-felt structure, dirty and cold.
184 The yard of the forest winter-quarters is not as cramped as on the
251 steppe. Here only a shelter of sod for the sheep is made beside
231 the house, while the other animals are wintered in reed or wattled
361 shelters /prigon/ built somewhere deep in the woods. Thus the appearance of the forest kstau reminds one somewhat of a Russian village.

184 Among the southern (Chu and other) Kirghiz /Kazak/, along
342 with the mud-hut winter quarters, yurts are put up in the midst
231 of reeds, with sod and snow laid around them. Simple fences of reeds and saxaul /saksaul/ are made for the livestock. Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Tarbagatai mountains, the winter quarters are built of stone and wood. Sod buildings are rarer. No buildings are made for the livestock at all, and they are kept in valleys and hollows sheltered from the wind.

291 The clothing of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is quite varied. Among the men the underclothing consists of one long wide shirt ("kuylyuk") of calico or, more rarely, of linen, and short wide trousers ("dambaly") of grey or colored material. Over this they wear a long wool coat, or among the rich a silk one, always with designs or embroidery, and wide trousers or "shelbary" of cotton material, sometimes of tanned leather. Above this they wear a beshmet -- a broad coat of colored material or embroidered, sometimes of camel's hair, made at home. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ wears an "arakchin" on his head, and above this a round cap called "bork." He wears wide leather boots with high wooden heels, called "santama," on his feet. His light footgear, called "ichigi" (boots of soft leather, without heels), is always worn with overshoes. He uses a wide calico band as a belt or else a leather "kse." The latter consists of a narrow strap, ornamented on the outside with metal plates, or with silver plates among the rich. From this strap there usually hangs a small bag, in which they used to keep tinder and flint and now put cheese, "kurt," for the road, also a sheath for a knife (which is now used in eating meat) and a powder horn (empty). These supplementary pieces are also adorned with metal plates on the outside. In the winter the

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[295]
[435]

/212 cont./ "kumiss pubs" /kumysnye kabachki/). In Akmolinsk, Uralsk, and other steppe towns populated in part by Kirghiz /Kazak/, there are several such kumiss vending places, where it is possible to obtain a large cup (3-4 times the size of a teacup) of good kumiss for 2-3 kopeks.

[958] The nourishing and stimulating qualities of kumiss are well-known /213/ also to the local Russian population, not to speak of the patients visiting the healing places (Borovoye, Shchuch'e, Bayan-Aul, Ul'binskoye, and others) and summer houses, who drink kumiss on the advice of their doctors. The Russian popu-
[439] lation of the surrounding towns drink a great quantity of it in
[435] summer, for example, in Omsk, where in this season incoming Kirghiz /Kazak/ open a trade in kumiss (30-50 kopeks per
[273] chetvert). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ make an intoxicating beverage called "araka" from kumiss (by distillation), but it does not yet
272 have a wide distribution. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ also like to
[273] drink tea with sugar, especially brick tea. They do not drink vodka and wine. Russian baked bread is customary among the
262 Kirghiz /Kazak/ near towns.
439

It was said above that the main occupation of the Kirghiz
231 /Kazak/, being a nomadic people, is livestock raising, but in
241 recent times agriculture has also begun to spread. Here we shall only discuss the domestic occupations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

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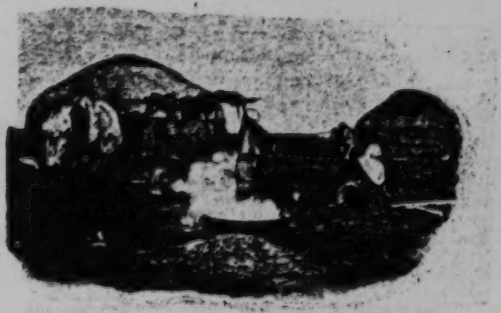

A Kirghiz /Kazak/ nomad village near Omsk. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

stations (MTS) were listed in 1930; this number had grown to approximately 300 in 1939, and to 376 in 1952.[1]

In 1939, when the total population of Kazakhstan was given by the census as 6,146,000 persons, 72.3 per cent (4,440,000) lived in rural areas and 27.7 per cent in urban areas. In the following year, it was reported that 97.5 per cent of the farm population was enrolled in collective farms, and 2.5 per cent in other units.[2] The ratio has since changed, for there has been an increase in the number of state farms, Machine Tractor stations, and Machine Livestock stations. No numerical breakdown of the enrollments in the various agricultural units since 1940 is available.

LIVESTOCK

There have been extreme fluctuations in the total number of livestock in Kazakhstan during the Soviet period (see Tables 4 and 5). The 36,000,000 head of stock reported for 1917 indicates that this was a fairly good year for the Kazakh herders, despite the Kazakh revolution of the preceding year. But by 1924 the total number of stock had dropped by 46 per cent—a loss attributable to the conditions attending the Russian Revolution and civil war. During the next five years the herds gradually recovered until in 1927 and 1929 they exceeded their 1917 strength. This was the period of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in the Soviet Union, which permitted a moderate amount of private economic interest.

With the onset of forced collectivization in 1930, the number of livestock began to drop rapidly; by 1933, it had fallen to approximately 12 per cent of the 1929 high. Throughout the rest of the 1930's the number of livestock slowly rose, but it was still far below the figures for the late twenties. The number of livestock in Kazakhstan today is difficult to assess, since only scattered data are available on developments during and since World War II.

During the Soviet period the number of cattle has increased relative to the over-all stock total. Since the beginning of the herd recovery in 1924, cattle have constituted more than 20 per cent of the total number of livestock; in 1938, the last year for which such figures are available, they formed 33 per cent of the total. Cattle generally form only 10 to 15 per cent of the total herd strength of a purely nomadic economy; sheep are the most important animal to the nomad (Table 6 gives the internal proportions of the herds of three different Kazakh groups in the 19th century).

This increase in the proportion of cattle among Kazakh livestock reflects an increase in agriculture. By 1938, cattle had recovered to approximately 40 per cent of their 1927 high, a rate of recovery double that shown by horses, sheep, and goats. A second effect of the growth of agriculture and the cities was that the number of camels and steppe horses decreased in proportion to the number of draft horses.

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda.*
[2] *Kazakhskaia SSR*, p. 18.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

Table 4

LIVESTOCK TRENDS IN KAZAKHSTAN
(In Thousands)

Year[a]	Total Livestock	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Horses[b]	Camels	Hogs
1917	36,000	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND
1924	19,400	4,750	11,400		2,500	400	300
1925	26,100	5,400	11,500	1,900	2,800	600	400
1926	30,700	6,400	15,500	2,700	3,400	700	400
1927	38,200	7,850	20,000	5,000	3,700	1,200	500
1928	33-35,000	7,700	20,500		3,900	ND	ND
1929[c]	40,400	7,400	21,900	5,300	4,200	1,300	300
1930[c]	33,000	5,700	18,000	4,600	3,600	1,100	160
1933	5,000	1,600	2,700		460	ND	ND
1934	6,000	1,900	3,300		430	ND	140
1935	7,000	2,200	4,100		460	ND	ND
1938	9,500	3,100	(5,200)[d]		640	100	370
1949	ND	ND	15,000	ND	ND	ND	ND
1953	ND	ND	15,000	ND	ND	ND	ND

[a]1917–1926: *Kazakhstan*, p. 47.
1927–1930: *Podnek and Pavlov*, pp. 27-28.
1933–1935: *Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitel'stvo*, 1936; *Kazakhstan v Tsifrakh . . .*, p. 73.
1938: *Kazakhskaia SSR*, pp. 18, 30, 35, 41, 44.
1949: *Lavrov*, p. 9.
1953: Khrushchev, *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 25 Oct 55.

[b]Figures through 1926 refer to steppe or mixed horses; steppe and mixed horses combined for 1927-1938.

[c]Spring.

[d]Estimated figure.

ND: No data available.

Table 5

STEPPE AND DRAFT HORSES IN KAZAKHSTAN[a]

Year	Steppe Horses	Draft Horses
1924	2,500,000	1,800,000
1925	2,800,000	1,900,000
1926	3,400,000	2,000,000
1928	2,900,000	900,000
1929	3,100,000	1,000,000
1930	2,400,000	850,000
1931	1,500,000	840,000
1932	100,000	600,000
1933	80,000	380,000
1934	70,000	360,000

[a]Vozhelenie, 1939, and *Selskoe Khoziaistvo USSR*, 1936. Figures do not match totals in Table 4 due to rounding.

Table 6

COMPOSITION OF 19th CENTURY KAZAKH HERDS[a]
(per cent)

Year	Horses	Cattle	Sheep and Goats	Camels
1846[b]	17	11	67	5
1849-1850[c]	13.7	9.5	74	3
1853[c]	16	12	72	6

[a]Figures represent percentage of total livestock.

[b]Khanikov, 1846.

[c]Tomin, 1864, pp. 11, 40.

The figures for the number of sheep are particularly significant, since this animal is of central importance to the nomad. Mutton is virtually the nomad's only meat; sheep milk is used as much as cow or mare milk. The sheep herds did not recover from the losses of the early 1930's as well as the cattle; by 1949, the number of sheep was 15,000,000, or approximately 68 per cent of the 1929 peak. In 1953, according to a statement made by Khrushchev,[1] secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the number of sheep and goats was significantly less than it had been in 1928, the index year for current Soviet statistics on Kazakh livestock. In 1928, the number of sheep and goats had been 20,500,000, with a ratio of four sheep to one goat; hence there were approximately 16,000,000 sheep. It would appear, then, that the number of sheep has not increased since 1949; it may possibly have decreased.

The figures reported for the number of hogs in Kazakhstan provide a useful index of the degree to which Slavic farmers (Russian and Ukrainian) have moved into the republic. The pig is of European origin; it is not native to rural Turkestan and was introduced there only recently. There were 300,000 hogs in Kazakhstan in 1924 and 1929, 500,000 in 1927, and 370,000 in 1938—the only category in which a figure for the 1930's exceeds any of those for the previous decade. Kazakhs have never eaten pork, partly on religious grounds—it is taboo for Moslems—and partly on traditional grounds. The present-day importance of pork in the KSSR economy is shown by the fact that in 1953 it constituted 53 per cent of the total meat production of the republic.[2]

COLLECTIVIZATION

Of fundamental importance in understanding the Kazakh attitudes toward Sovietization is the impact which collectivization during the late twenties and early thirties had upon these attitudes. During the drive to collectivize the Kazakhs, thousands of families were handed over to the GPU, hundreds of thousands of families starved to death, and further thousands sought to escape the consequences of being identified as Kazakhs by emigrating or declaring themselves to be Uzbeks, Karakalpaks, or other neighboring peoples. (See Chapter 2.)

During the period of collectivization, the Party leader of the Kazakh republic, F. I. Goloshchekin, made a number of remarkably frank statements. In a series of articles and speeches prepared between 1928 and 1930, he described how collectivization was accomplished. In November 1928, he stated that 657 households were confiscated, and a total of 143,000 cattle units (whereby five sheep equals one head of cattle) were collectivized.[3] In an article two years later he said that a group of 696 households had been confiscated.[4] Another source reveals that some 700 Kazakh households were confiscated in 1929.[5]

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 23 Oct 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, 21 Oct 53.
[3] Goloshchekin, 1931, p. 201.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 208.
[5] Kuchkin, 1946.

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The collectivization drive in the 1928-1930 period did not simply confiscate Kazakh households at the rate of 700 a year. In yet another article written during the same period, Goloshchekin summarized the methods used: "Now referring to some of the results of the confiscation, let us look at the methods we used to resolve the question. No doubt the decree [in reconfiscation] was effective here, administrative organs were effective, especially the GPU."[1] If the average per household was no more than five persons, which is a low estimate, there is direct evidence for concluding that in these three years the fates of 10,000 to 12,000 Kazakhs were placed in the hands of the GPU.

Direct evidence stops at this point. One may infer that these people were lost to the Kazakhs, that even if they were not liquidated, they disappeared in the GPU system. One must bear in mind that these are cases which entered into the official record; it is known that a large proportion of cases turned over to the GPU did not become a matter of record. With the year 1930, the era of frankness came to an end. GPU methods intensified, and the period of the mass purge trials began. Trends which had begun in Kazakh family economy now accelerated until the number of livestock began to fall, between 1929 and 1933. The first reports of confiscations and liquidations are given for 1928; the number of livestock fell by three to five million, or about 10 per cent, from the 38,000,000 reported in 1927. In the spring of 1929 there was a recovery to 40,000,000 head of livestock, but from that point the decline was unbroken, to 33,000,000 in 1930, down to 5,000,000 in 1933. [031]

Thus the second phase of the drive to collectivization was immeasurably worse in its human consequences than the initial phase. The first phase was relatively mild, with the arrest of only a few thousand families. The second phase involved an ever-widening circle of resistance to collectivization by the Kazakhs, punishment by the GPU, increased resistance by the Kazakhs, increased activity by the GPU. This struggle is reflected in the livestock picture, for the Kazakhs continued to care for their stock, even in the face of the mass arrests. With increased terror came increased resistance, as the livestock decline reveals. One can safely estimate that liquidations by the GPU during the second phase were many times those of the first phase, which involved 10,000 to 12,000 Kazakhs at the very least.

This period of mass collectivization was accompanied by the elaboration of what Naum Jasny has called "bacchanalian planning," one of the projects being the fertilization of that cruel steppe desert, the Bet-Pak-Dala. In the following decade, the error of investing in agriculture in the Bet-Pak-Dala was finally seen, and its return to use as a marginal herding zone was recommended.[2] The Soviet ecologists and planners had been overly influenced by the number of natural wells and springs in the Bet-Pak-Dala, calculating their utility to agriculture without reference to the water table or to the poverty of the soil in organic matter. The significance of this error during collectivization was that Kazakhs were settled down precisely in these and other such experimental areas. [311]

[1]Goloshchekin, 1931, p. 206.
[2]Berelin 1946, pp. 116-135.

353 for dishes, like ours. The poorer Kazakhs, on the contrary, do not even have the first mentioned, and make do with one or two simple chests. Between the beds and the door extra tripods are stored, large kettles, all the larger cooking vessels, and various other domostic utensils among which one may sometimes find a small low table or a small stool.

[231] Among the poor, the sick livestock, yearling calves, sheep still growing horns, and a yound camel, are protected from frost, standing in the door among the rubbish. However, with all the feeling of love of animals here expressed, the people do not deny themselves adequate room. On a special stand there also sits a falcon or a golden eagle, with a [411] leather cap over its eyes. Over it hangs a [492] saddle, a drum to frighten away the wild beasts, a matchlock gun, and various other hunting appurtenances, and other things, such as bridles, various saddles, and saddle trees, reserve nooses, belts of all sorts, lashes of all possible kinds, nagaikas or kamchis (whips), etc. The clothing constantly used by the men and women is kept partly in the chests, which are placed behind the curtains around the beds, where the cradles also stand, and part of them hang on bakans or on the nooses which are stretched low down all through the yurt.

251 Provisions, such as smoked meats, hang on ropes which are stretched across up higher. Meat is also hung from the chagarak, especially if it has to be smoked. Fresh meat, milk, cheeses, and other provisions are preserved in tubs, vats, kettles, sacks, etc., all standing and hanging in this same part of the yurt.